G. R. S. IX-5]

Previous references

File No. 157-19

1919.

Serial Nos. 304

(87)

Later references.

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT.

Serial Nos. Two

Part B for July 1920.

SUBJECT.

Peace settlement with Turkey.

30/7/20.

WD 788—GPB—5,000—7-11-19

G. R. S. III—1] 1919.

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT.

(GR.)

NOTES.

File No. 151-C9

FILE HEADING.

Peace Settlement with Turkey.

From

The J. A. Resident

No. 4448 Dated 20.5.20 Received 21.5.20

Diary No. 19696 Enclos. 2 Spare Copies. 2 Serial No. 3

BRIEF ABSTRACT OF LETTER.

Fds copies of notification issued by the Govt of India of the principal conditions of the Peace terms which have been communicated by the Allies to Turkey

NOTES AND ORDERS.

Draft put up.

DMA 21/5/20

Issue
MJ
21.5

NOTES—First Sheet.

F. R. S. III-2]

1969b 2

General and Revenue Secretariat.

P. P File No. 151 of 1919.

Serial No.	
4.	To The Compiler, Mysore Gazette.
	No. G 26297 dt 21-5-20.
	Republishes the notification rptd to 813.
	The notification has to be translated into (1) Kanarese and (2) Urdu.
	For (1) the file will be sent to the Translation section for needful.
	For (2) Submitted for orders.
	VS
	22.5.20 Yes may be sent for Tranln
	Translation of the Notification rptd.
	DM 24/5
	DY. 17/6/20
	May the same be sent to the Compiler for publication in the Kannada edition of the Gazette?
	Urs 19/6/20 Mr D.C. Subbaraya for favour of kindly verifying the accuracy & Elegance of the Kannada translation.
	MK 19/6/20.
	Returned with compliments.
	Kind reference is invited to Rule 216, Paragraph 2, of the Secretariat Manual,

NOTE—Contn. sheet.

G. R. S. III-2]

3

General and Revenue Secretariat.

P. P. File No. 151 of 1919.

Serial No.

according to which the responsibility for the correctness of translations of Notifications &c rests with the Assistant Secretaries of the Branches concerned.

DCS
21/6/20.

Seen. Thanks. I know the rule. But I wanted to make sure of the Elegance of the language employed as I am not much of a Scholar in Kannada.

MR
21/6/20

Kannada with sent Dr Ress 17/7/20

B

CHIEF SECRETARIAT. II POLITICAL BRANCH. 17 JUL 1920

NOTE—Contn. sheet.

Pol 1570
Enc 3

MYSORE RESIDENT'S OFFICE,

Bangalore, 20th May 1920

DIARY NO. 19696

NO.
Ch Secy
20 MAY 1920

SECTION P.P.

× with 2 spare copies

A copy of the acompanying explanatory statements No. 151-9 3.

*No. dated

from the

with compliments, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, for information in continuation of endorsement No. 4304 dated 15th May 1920.

P

First Assistant Resident.

R. O. 178.—R. P. B.—1-1920.—1,000.

Government of India.

The following notification of the Government of India is re-published for general information :—

HOME DEPARTMENT

Simla, the 15th May 1920.

1. The following are the principal conditions of the Peace Terms which have been communicated by the Allies to Turkey :—

(1) The frontiers of Turkey will be as already demarcated and, where necessary, revised by a Boundary Commission to be created. According to this delimitation, Turkey will include the Constantinople section of Thrace and all the predominantly Turkish areas of Asia Minor.

(2) The rights and title of the Turkish Government in Constantinople will not be affected, but the right to modify this provision is reserved in the event of the failure of Turkey faithfully to fulfil the Treaty

(3) A Commission of the Straits will have authority over all waters between the Mediterranean mouth of the Dardanelles and the Black Sea Mouth of the Bosphorus, and of the waters within three miles of each of these mouths, also on the shores to such extent as may be necessary. The duty of the Commission will be to ensure freedom of navigation in these waters in peace and war.

(4) A scheme of local self-government will be drafted for Kurdistan, including provision for the protection of Assyro-Chaldean and other minorities. The League of Nations will decide later whether Kurdistan should be granted independence of Turkey, if it be proved that separation is desired by the majority of the Kurdish people.

(5) Certain portions of Smyrna are formed into a separate unit to be administered by Greece, the suzerainty of Turkey being continued for a period of years till the autonomous State of Smyrna decides its own destiny.

(6) With the exception of the Constantinople sector, Eastern Thrace is ceded to Greece, provision being made for the local self-government of the town of Adrianople.

(7) Certain portions of the Armenian districts of Turkey are added to the existing Armenian Republic, the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in certain districts being referred to the arbitration of the President of the United States whose decision will be final thereon and on any stipulation regarding Armenian access to the sea.

(8) Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine are provisionally recognized as independent States, subject to administrative advice and assistance from a mandatory power, until such time as they are able to stand alone ; the mandate for Syria has been entrusted to Frace and those for Mesopotamia and Palestine to Britain ; the mandate for Palestine will include provision for giving effect to the declaration of November 8th, 1917 regarding the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people

(9) The Hedjaz is recognized as a free and independent State. The King of Hedjaz undertakes to assume free and easy access to Mecca and Medina to Moslem pilgrims of all countries.

(10) Turkey relinquishes all rights and titles over Egypt, the Sudan, and Cyprus.

(11) Turkey recognizes the French Protectorate over Morocco and Tunis.

(12) Turkey renounces her claims to certain islands in the Aegean.

(13) The military, naval and air forces at the disposal of Turkey will consist of the following :—

(*a*) The Sultan's Bodyguard at Constantinople,

(*b*) A troop of Gendarmerie for maintenance of internal order and security and protection of minorities ;

(*c*) Special elements for reinforcements of the Gendarmerie and eventual control of the frontiers; the bodyguard is limited to 700 and the Gendarmerie with special elements to 50,000. All warships interned in Turkish ports are declared to be finally surrendered. The Turkish Fleet is limited to 6 torpedo boats and 7 sloops. No military, naval or air forces or dirigibles are to maintained.

(14) Control will be maintained over the finances of Turkey until the discharge of her international obligations has been assured

(15) Freedom of navigation and transit is secured. The following [illegible] provision to be made [illegible] Constantinople, Dardanelles, Bosphorus, Sea of Marmora and Black Sea.

(16) [illegible] regarding :—

(*a*) [illegible], (*b*) [illegible] of Allied [illegible], (*c*) Prisoners of War, (*d*) Graves of Allied soldiers, (*e*) Protection of minorities, (*f*) Religious questions and concessions, (*g*) Labour conventions, and (*h*) Antiquities, but it is not necessary to detail these in the present statement.

2. However much they may regret some of these decisions, Indian Muslims must feel satisfaction in knowing that the settlement has been greatly influenced by their representations. When replying to the Khilafat deputation on the 29th January last, His Excellency the Viceroy gave an account of the steps which had been taken by the Secretary of State and himself from the date of the armistice onwards to represent to His Majesty's Government the views of Indian Muslims, especially with regard to the holy places in the Hedjaz and the future of Constantinople, and to secure that their representations should receive a full hearing from the Supreme Council of the Allies. After that date the representatives of the All-India Khilafat Conference were given every facility and assistance by the Government of India to lay their case before the Prime Minister and the strength of Indian Muslim feeling in the matter has been impressed upon His Majesty's Government in frequent communications made to the Secretary of State. The Prime Minister replying to the Khilafat Deputation assured the Muhammadans of India that their case had been presented with great force and had been examined with conscientious care not merely by the delegates of the British Empire, but also by the Supreme Council of the Allies. And in fact the representations made by Indian Muhammadans did materially influence the final decision. It is well known that there was a great and strong body of public opinion both in England and America which favoured the removal of the Turkish capital from Constantinople to Asia Minor, and that such counsels did not prevail is in no small measure due to the knowledge how keenly Indian Moslem opinion was opposed to this step. Indian Moslems have therefore the satisfaction of knowing that largely out of deference to their feelings and the representations of the Government of India Constantinople was saved for the Turkish Empire as its capital.

3. The Governor General in Council would next like to advert to the allegation which is sometimes made that British policy has ever been in the past unfriendly to Turkey. For this statement there is no foundation. It is unnecessary to refer to the ancient friendship between the two countries, proved by the entry of Britain on the side of Turkey in the Crimean war and by all her subsequent efforts to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The forbearance which Britain displayed and the provocation which Turkey under the domination of German influences and the leadership of the Committee of Union and Progress gave, before war was declared, were fully explained in the communique issued by the Government of India in October 1914. It was Turkey which broke the traditional friendship with Great Britain. In his reply to the Khilafat Deputation the Prime Minister made it absolutely clear that Britain had no understanding of any sort or kind with Russia to the detriment of Turkey when the war began. In fact Britain sought to deter Turkey from entering the war by giving her the most complete assurances that if she maintained neutrality, Britain would see that at the conclusion of peace no conditions would be laid down which would impair her independence and integrity, and that economic conditions of a character favourable to Turkey would be obtained. In spite of all these assurances Turkey took the fatal step of entering the war on the side of Germany, and against her ancient Ally.

4. It is most important that there should be no misunderstanding as to the attitude of Government towards the question of the Khilafat. The Government of India repeat again that the question of the Khilafat is one for Muhammadans, and Muhammadans only, to decide, and that with their free choice in this matter, Government have no desire to interfere. But they cannot acquiesce in the statement which is now made that the Khilafat of the Ottoman Sultan has remained unchanged in its temporal attributes for thirteen centuries or that it implies any temporal allegiance on the part of Indian Muslims. These are propositions which are contrary to history. The temporal power associated with the Khilafat has undergone the most violent fluctuations during the last thirteen centuries. It has covered the whole of the dominions embraced in the Saracenic Empire when that was in the fullness of its glory. On the other hand it was reduced to nothing for over two centuries when the Khalifa was the mere spiritual Head of Islam under the Mameluk dynasty of Egypt. With the transference of the Khilafat to the Ottoman dynasty,

The temporal power of the Khalifa ha waxed and waned with the extent of the Ottoman Empire, but the essence of the Khilafat remained unaltered and cannot now be affected by any present change in the boundaries of that Empire. Nor, also, so far as Indian Moslems are concerned, is there any historical basis for the claim that the Khilafat implies any temporal allegiance on their part to the Sultan of Turkey. Any such theory of divided allegiance would be subversive of the constitutional basis on which all Governments rest.

5. It is also a mistake to suppose that the war was a religious one or that the terms of peace have been influenced in any way by religious considerations. The Muslims of India recognized this first proposition very clearly five years ago. The war was one between Christian powers and the alliance of Turkey with a Christian power places this beyond doubt. As to the second the Peace Conference has applied the same principles to all autocratic empires, Muslim and Christian alike. The Empire of Austria-Hungary has lost over two-thirds of its dominions and three-fourths of its population. Heavy as Turkey's losses are, they fall far short of these. And although it is true that Turkish Sovereignty has been confined to areas within which Turks predominate, Indian Muhammadans must remember that the independence of their Arab co-religionists remains intact throughout a very large proportion of the remainder of the former Ottoman Empire and that the only areas which have been removed entirely from Muslim control are the comparatively small areas of Armenia, Thrace and Smyrna, in each of which according to pre-war statistics the population was predominantly non-Muslim.

6. Again it has been said that the settlement is a breach of the promise or the offer made by the Prime Minister in his speech of January 1918 when he said: "Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." This passage must, however, be read with its context, for Mr. Lloyd George continued, "While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the home-lands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople—the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized—Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions."

The peace terms now published fulfil this offer or promise, for her home-lands which are predominantly Turkish in race have been left to Turkey and those portions of Thrace and Smyrna which have been separated have been treated in accordance with the principle of nationality. This is a principle which has been followed in all the other Treaties of peace. The Supreme Council decided that the Turks had forfeited their title to rule over the majorities of other races and that these majorities should be joined to their own national states. Both in Thrace and in Smyrna the Muslim population before the war was in a minority. In 1914 and 1915 the Turkish Government carried out a systematic deportation of the non-Muslim population from these areas and the statistics of to-day cannot therefore be made a reason for retaining them under Turkish rule. In Thrace the sector of Constantinople, where Turks predominate, has been conserved to Turkey. The rest of Thrace was predominantly Greek in 1912 and has therefore been united with Greece. There is no doubt that Adrianople is predominantly Turkish, but it is only an island of Turks separated from the Constantinople sector by a region predominantly Greek. It is impossible to separate an island such as this from the territories by which they are surrounded, and therefore in accordance with the universal practice of the Peace Council in the rest of Europe it has been treated as part of Turkey subject to an arrangement which ensures a system of local self government and guarantees proper representation to the Turkish majority in Adrianople. Similarly in Smyrna the majority of the people are definitely Greek and Armenian but the area transferred has been cut down to the minimum suitable for separate administration. The suzerainty remains with Turkey and the districts concerned will eventually decide their own destiny by vote and the port of Smyrna will be free. Turkey will have freedom of transit and there will be a separate Government for the Turkish minority.

7. It is unnecessary to enter at length to the reasons which have led the Allies to insist upon the internationalization and neutralization of the Straits

between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Its opening to Germany and its closure against the British in 1914 had disastrous effects in prolonging the great war with all its bloodshed and misery. This great waterway of the world must remain in future open to the free commerce of all nations.

8. The maintenance of some control over the finances of Turkey to safeguard international obligations is no new proposal as for years such control has been exercised for the administration of the Ottoman debt. This necessity has become all the greater now that the debt has increased from 160 millions to nearly five hundred millions, while Turkish territory has decreased. The new States formed out of Turkey and the ceded territories will bear a proportion of the pre-war debt. There are provisions granting to Turkey a consultative voice in the Financial Commission and for termination of the Commission when her obligations have been discharged.

9. The provisions regarding the army and navy of Turkey require little comment. The reduction of the Turkish army is in accordance with the arrangements which have been made for the general disarmament of the other powers lately at war with the Allies. Turkey had no effective navy before the war and this condition is maintained.

10. Of more interest to Muslims in India are those provisions which concern the portions of the former Turkish Empire where their Arab co-religionists preponderate. The absolute independence of Arabia is recognised. For generations the Arabs have suffered from the misrule of the Turks and it is unreasonable to ask that the Arab populations which have claimed independence of Turkey and have fought side by side with the Allies to secure their independence should be replaced by the Allies under Turkish rule. As the Prime Minister pointed out to the Khilafat Deputation, it would be unjust to deprive the Arabs of their independence merely because they are Muhammadans and co-religionists of the Turks. "We are applying" he said "exactly the same principles in Christian places, and to impose the dominion of the Sultan upon Arabia, which has no desire for it, is to impose upon Arabs something which we certainly would not dream of imposing upon Christian communities."

11. Similar considerations apply to Kurdistan of which the right to local autonomy is provisionally recognized, and to those areas in Asia, over which mandates have been intrusted by the Peace Conference to Britain and France, that is to say, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria. It cannot be too clearly understood that in all these three cases the mandates have been granted for a specific purpose and for a temporary period. The immediate application to these areas of the principle of nationality would spell chaos and anarchy; and the work of the mandatory powers is to assist the local inhabitants with administrative advice and help, until such time as they are fit to take over with success the business of administration without outside assistance. Islam will not be weakened by these arrangements and the two great Powers, to whom these mandates have been confided, include within the limits of their empires a very large proportion of the total Muslim population of the world—a guarantee that the interests and rights of the Muslims of these areas will be fully respected.

12. In the countries of Arabia, Irak and Palestine are situated the Holy Places of Islam with which all Muslims are profoundly concerned. When the war began the Allies gave a solemn pledge that the Holy Places would remain inviolate. This pledge has been observed in the spirit and in the letter during the actual occupation by His Majesty's forces of the territories in which some of the Holy Places are situated and steps have been taken to ensure their strict sanctity. The city of Jerusalem was not attacked as has been stated, but surrendered without violence offered or attempted, after it had been isolated in the course of operations against enemies armed in the field. The fullest measures were straightway taken to preserve the sanctity of the Holy Places within it, and the city which is in itself as sacred to Christians as to Muslims was entered by the victorious British General on foot. The Muslim shrines continues as before in the hands of their own Muslim custodians. In Mesopotamia the holy places of Kerbala and Najaf were never attacked and no acts of war were committed

there by our troops. The scrupulous forbearance of His Majesty's soldiers was gratefully acknowledged by the inhabitants themselves. The unopposed occupation of Baghdad as of Jerusalem involved no attack on the Holy Places, but was an inevitable incident in the field operations of the war. The shrines in these three sacred places of Mesopotamia are now in the custody of a distinguished Muslim whose charge of them is an ample assurance that their sanctity will continue to be fully respected. The British forces have conducted no operations whatever in the Hedjaz and any reports that Mecca or Medina have been entered by British troops are utterly without foundation. These places are entirely under Arab control.

13. There remains the case of certain Armenian districts whose incorporation in the adjoining Armenian Republic is a direct consequence of Turkish misrule and of the application to this area of the principle of nationality. The cruelties perpetrated on the Armenians in the shape of massacre and deportation admit of no doubt. The story has been proved by independent and reliable witnesses and it is established beyond dispute that during the year 1915 at least 600,000 Armenians were destroyed. The facts were indeed admitted by the Turkish emissaries in Paris who represented the Turkish Government and their sole excuse was that the Committee of Union and Progress who were in power at the time were responsible for the massacres.

14. In these explanations of the Turkish Peace terms, the Governor-General in Council does not speak for His Majesty's Government. He has utilized such information as has come into his possession, and has attempted to explain the terms with special reference to their bearing on Indian Muslim sentiments. He has stated all the facts, nothing being mitigated and nothing overstated. He recognises that in spite of all explanations the terms of the peace settlement with Turkey are such as must cause pain to the Muhamadans of India. The Muslims must brace themselves to bear with patience and resignation the misfortunes of their Turkish co-religionists. The situation is one which calls for clear vision and a resolve to build a better future on the wreck of the past. Above all the world needs peace and goodwill. It is a matter of supreme necessity for all men to work towards this end and those who at this critical time arouse religious passions are enemies not only of India but of mankind.

(Sd.) H. McPHERSON,

Secretary to the Government of India.

C. T. C. PLOWDEN, Major,

First Assistant Resident.

G. R. S. Vl—G/32]

SUBJECT.....

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Diary No. of letter replied to.....

Section P P
File No. 151-19
Serial No. 4

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT

( )

the *191* .

Notification
No. G 26297

Date of issue 21/5/20

Signed by Mr C.S.B. Iyer

The following notification of the Government of India is republished for general information :-

[Here enter the notification of 15th May 1920 in extenso].

By Order

M
U/S
For Chief Secretary

To
The Compiler
Mysore Gazette
for publication.